plus the excess of births over deaths were sufficient six years after the conclusion of the war to bring the post-war population of the village within 200 of the pre-war level.

Okinawans returning to Hanashiro came largely from Japan, the Philippines, Manchuria, Formosa, the South Seas and a few from Hawaii. From Hinatogawa, the areas of former settlement were broader, probably reflecting a wider activity of the fishermen. They came from Java, Palau, Singapore, the Philippine Islands, and Tarawa. Some had previously returned voluntarily from Hawaii and Peru before the war. The largest segments came from the Philippines and Tarawa, the smaller groups from Hawaii and Peru. The repatriates to Matsuda also came from Japan, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the South Seas.

One consequence of the pre-war emigration and of the repatriation that followed was that each village after the war had a group of people who had been in foreign countries or had relatives still residing in foreign areas.

In the villages studied, according to the residents living there now, repatriation was not accompanied by the tensions and the ill feeling that was so conspicuous in post-war Europe, especially Germany. There were no cliques between those who had stayed during the war and those who returned to live beside them.

The reasons for this are probably these: many of the repatriates even though absent a long time owned land in a village. This was true of Hanashiro and Matsuda, the agricultural villages, and to a lesser extent of Hinatogawa. Some adjustments were necessary. The land owned by these people had not been idle during their absence. If a first son returned, in most cases his younger brother was cultivating the fields and occupying the family house. He, in the absence of his eldest brother, acted as head of the house. When the first son returned, he received the possessions and assumed the responsibilities of the head of the house, and in turn gave his younger brother land to establish a branch household. When the returned member of the family was a second son, the adjustment was easier. The first son, if possible, gave his younger brother a house site and fields to cultivate.[6]

Other relatives, parents, younger or older sisters, nephews, or nieces were absorbed within the family, the parents or grandparents resuming a retirement which they would have had in any case, while the younger relatives became working and contributing members to the family. They did not come back to an altogether strange place. They or their parents had been born there, and their names had remained in the village family register.

6 The reasons for these acts will be made clear in Chapter 6 on the family system.

The strong ties of the family system are probably the fundamental reasons for this lack of strangeness. One is a member of the family, even if in another part of the island or of the world. This sense of belonging, to be emphasized later, is not only an emotional feeling but is a basic fact of social organization. Relationships, regardless of their geographic spread, are a binding force. It is true that these become weaker with the remoter relationships of the extended family, but they are still strong enough to blunt the edge of individual frictions that might otherwise be expected.

There was a niche into which a returning person might fit, whether he was a parent, a first son, an elder brother, an uncle or niece of the head of the household. The repatriates who had been long absent were, in turn, able to make an adjustment to conditions in the island of their birth because they had continued the same social system in their foreign residence. They now had to function in a more restricted and less well endowed natural environment. Dissatisfactions took the form, as they still do, of longing for better economic opportunity which they hope will be realized through further opportunities for emigration. They make comparisons, unfavorable to Okinawa, regarding the ease of making a living in other countries. Repatriates from Japan, who have returned to Okinawan rural life, miss the cities and the more exciting life of that country. Among those who have travelled, there is also a more noticeable discontent and dissatisfaction with the loneliness of rural life. The word sabishii is often on their lips.

The ideas of the repatriated Okinawans, furthermore, are not a new phenomenon in contemporary village life. They did not bring back points of view unknown before. In the past these had been communicated by letters and rare visits to the homeland. The reports of the repatriates were richer, more detailed, and more concrete, but not completely different. They have--and this is probably one of their chief influences on post-war village life--stimulated the strong desire of the villagers to emigrate. Life is hard on the island, and their accounts of greater return for the same expenditure of work have quickened hopes of future emigration. These hopes are confined to the New World, Japan, and the Pacific islands. There is no enthusiasm for migration to other islands in the Ryukyu chain.

4

Attitudes Toward Birth Control

There is little in the religious belief or in the cultural tradition that would induce, in large segments of the population, a strong antipathy to birth control on religious grounds, but these beliefs and traditions are not favorable to it either. Respect for ancestors and the need for the continuance of the family system are the most important of these. It is the duty of each generation to provide this continuity between the past and the future. The links in this chain are male children. Once this

Daughters are not considered in inheritance matters if there are male heirs. A daughter's share of family possessions normally comes to her as a marriage present: a kimono, a chest, a mirror, a pillow, and a quilt-like blanket (futon), and other personal articles, or money, depending on the economic abilities of the father. In the absence of male heirs, women (either as wives or daughters) can and do inherit the house and property. In a family without sons, the head has several alternatives: he may allow the daughter to inherit, or adopt a bridegroom for his own house, the first distasteful to the father because there is no one to continue the family line, the second distasteful to the groom who must desert his own family. A third alternative is to adopt a young male child of a relative.

The passing down of property in these villages is governed in large part also by custom and the individual desire of the parents. In the villages, there were no instances of which I knew in which disputes over inheritance and the disposition of property had been carried to court for settlement. Quarrels among a father and his sons or the first sons and his younger brothers are said to be rather common. Much depends on the temperament and the generosity of the first son who controls the property on the death or retirement of his father. The problem was often put in this way: the first son must look after his younger brothers and give them land, but he must also keep his eye on the estate he will be able to pass down to his own children.

2

Essentials of the Inheritance System.

The essentials of the inheritance system, as it was found to be working in these villages, were substantially the same. (1) In the division of property on the death or retirement of the father (or the head of the house), the house site itself is never divided. The family residence, the buildings in the compound remain intact. The house is a symbol of a family's existence and its future. If it is also the main house of the extended family, it is the site of the original founder and is even more inviolate.

An interesting question arises when the first sons are male twins. An old practice, now abandoned, was that the second of the twins inherited as the first son. This was based on a belief that the last child out of the womb was the first one in, and therefore the older. In the villages, one still hears this explanation from older people, but now the universal practice is for the first born to become the first son.

(2) The rest of the property is divided, in varying proportions, among the remaining sons. The first son gets the money, but he is expected to share this. He normally gets at least half the property, the remaining half being divided up among the other sons, either in the

One can infrequently observe women walking from Minatogawa To nearby villages to sell their fish. Women and young girls also sell fish locally, standing somewhere off the main street with their hand scale (hakkari) and a basket or bucket of fish. Housewives come up, price the individual fish, often weighing it for themselves on the hand scale. 443 809

Like the Chinese scale, this is simply a round piece of wood on one end of which there is a weight. The fulcrum is a string, held in the hand, which holds the scale. The item to be weighed is put in a basket and placed on the other end. The weight is ascertained by moving the counter-weight till both sides are in balance. Markings along the piece of wood show the exact amount. Every village shop has one of these scales.

There is very little haggling over prices, although the housewife is choosy and will inquire the cost of different individual fish before deciding which one, if any, to buy. 443

Usually the night's catch is marketed the following morning. Women, by custom, receive a fee for selling fish. A woman who takes her husband's and his partner's fish to market (the catch being insufficient for both wives to participate) is paid her fee by weight. 443 465

25 kin (about 33 pounds) sold at Y30 per kin	Y1500
Woman's share, at Y5 per kin	-150
Remainder	Y1350
Each Partner's Share	675

[804]

The Y5 per kin is a selling commission. If more than one woman goes, the fee is split between them. Women pay all expenses and their bus fare from the commission. Occasionally wives alternate in taking the catch to market.

When the woman of a fishing family takes fish to market, she is doing more than performing an errand. Her skill in bargaining and general knowledge of prices, of the catch and the demand for various kinds of fish determine whether she gets a good or only a fair price. Generally, mature women sell the fish. Younger women, in the late teens and early twenties, often accompany the older women as helpers and gradually are initiated into the tricks of the trade. Young women, not being skillful, are more likely to accept the first offer, or to sell below the highest price obtainable. One source of family quarreling (fufukonka) is the anger of a husband when his wife has sold at a lower price than his neighbor's wife. Women who have children leave them with a relative, or an older daughter. When the wife of the family is unable to sell the fish because her children are too young, the chore is taken over by a woman relative. In Minatogawa, this substitute work also is often done by widows who, in addition, might sell fish caught by male relatives. 443 562 [578] [855] [589]

The money earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after 080

273 the greater part of the following day until the effects are worn off.4

There is tolerance of drinking and of behavior while under the influence of alcohol—with the exceptions to be discussed below. This nonchalance extends to children and young people. When an elder and highly respected friend or neighbor, perhaps their own grandfather, is drunk, they laugh indulgently at him, passing off his behavior as foolish because he is drunk.

[576] The custom of drink exchange (kampai) certainly does not keep drinking to a minimum. Drink exchange is perpetual at parties. A small cup of sake is offered to a friend. He drinks, gives the cup back to his friend who holds it while the other refills the cup. The exchange goes on again. Often three or four men are involved in this reciprocity.

[207] Drinking, like an aperitif or cocktail before a meal, is not common. Sake may be drunk with or after the meal. Often it is served along with tea. Throughout the evening the two may be drunk alternatively. In this case, the tea is served first. Unless there are special occasions, there is very little day time drinking.

273 562 In this drinking, the Okinawan woman has no part. There are a few minor exceptions. But in all the villages these exceptions were older or very elderly women. The young wife or girl in rural Okinawan villages simply does not drink. Furthermore, she seems to have no desire to. Occasionally a woman in her late forties or early fifties takes a few sips. In the southern villages, an old woman may drink a small amount with a little added sugar at a celebration. In Matsuda, shortly before New Years it is customary to give a party at village expense to all people in the village over 70 years of age. On this occasion, both the old men and old women are liberally supplied with and liberally drink the sake.

[888]

[154] These distinctions in drinking between the sexes, in my opinion, are closely tied in with the responsibilities of men and women, as they have grown up historically under the family system. The distinctions certainly cannot be explained in terms of contemporary attitudes. If drinking is an outlet for the tensions of the man, a way of relieving the boredom and monotony of every day life, how can one explain the

4 There is little real violence or fighting, but there may be noisy quarrels and some shoving about. Some mild men become very quarrelsome. The only instance of violence I observed was the case of a young man about 25 who drank quite a lot, became angry with some girls in the Young Women's Association for not doing chores he thought they were responsible for. He slapped one severely. The following day he was very remorseful. His mother went to the girl's house and personally apologized for the boy's behavior.

[578]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

absence of need of a similar release from the boring and monotonous life of the women. Yet I noticed little in the behavior of village women to indicate they were overwhelmed by monotony or bored with life, though perhaps longer residence in the villages would have proved this observation false. Might one say that the culture does not fulfill its promise to the men, even though they are favored and catered to and that the drinking is the result of this disappointment? This neglects the fact that drinking is old in the culture and is almost always done in the company of others. If personal frustration and disappointment were the cause, one might expect more compulsive and solitary drinking and more alcoholism.

The sources of this distinction between the drinking men and the abstemious women, I think, lie in the values held by the culture. In the first place, sake drinking is age old in Japan, and probably in Okinawa as well. Drinking sake is associated with ceremonies, such as marriage, with religious observances, with social and public life. The public life of an official, a shopkeeper or business man, a farmer, a fisherman is not divorced from entertainment. Men have an outside life. In their dealings with other men, they are accustomed to drinking. Women do not have this outside life. They have inside duties of which the care of the children and of the house are the most important. Historically, the source of the abstemiousness of the women may be the obligations of being a mother, to be ready at all times to care and provide for or nurse her children, obligations considered incompatible with drinking. Women are expected to be polite, refined, and quiet. These ideals may be difficult to maintain in drinking.

At times a husband and wife may participate in social gatherings as a couple. These gatherings may either be (1) an informal, often casual, event when guests drop in and spend part of the evening, and (2) the formal affairs, such as a marriage, a birthday celebration, a holiday, an extended family reunion, or the observance of a death anniversary. On these occasions, the men occupy the first room, the women the second. The entertainment and conversations of the evening are for the most part governed by this segregation.

Though women are tolerant of drinking, domestic difficulties are often caused by the drinking of the man. Frequent drinking with its noise and late hours may result in family quarrels (fufukanka). Quarrels involving the wife and the husband's female relatives, especially the mother, are said to be uncommon. In the southern villages, the war did away with one cause of family quarrels. Men no longer go to the geisha quarter. There are naturally tensions coming out of individual antagonisms and dissatisfactions: the husband's mother who ignores her grandchild because she dislikes her daughter-in-law, pressure on a woman to produce children to satisfy the pride of the husband and of the grandparents, and failure to bear children, which usually leads to divorce initiated by the husband. Divorces, in these rural villages, were found to be uncommon.[5]

5 No reliable statistics could be found. These remarks and those in the next paragraph are based on personal observation, impressions and conversations.

soup. Nothing is wasted and leftovers are kept for the next meal. The majority of people are fast eaters, and chopsticks move from bowl to mouth quickly and deftly. Some families eat silently, others enjoy talking during the meal.

Before and after full moon, people like to go out after supper and gather in small groups by the store to talk and smoke or to visit each other. Less running back and forth is observed during dark nights. There is also a seasonal variation in that respect. On cold winter nights, or when it rains, doors are closed early, and visitors slip into the house by the side kitchen door. On warm nights all houses are open, and one can see people sitting in their living room by the light of a kerosene lamp; passers-by just call over and then go in for a chat. Guests are served tea, bits of brown sugar, and other sweets. Men get together at this time and start talking over a cup of sake. A relative or neighbor, bottle in hand, walks in and joins the party. Here and there somebody pulls a samisen out of the corner and starts singing.

Evenings are also the time for village meetings, finance group meetings, family gatherings, and other formal get-togethers. Several times during the week a light shines from the village office or the store office, where some of the village leaders meet to discuss community affairs. In the winter, household-head meetings or other general meetings are called for 8 o'clock; in the summer they do not start until 9 o'clock. In the absence of clocks, few meetings ever start on time.

The young men and women have their get-togethers at the clubhouse in Udenaha. Both sexes attend, sometimes for lectures by a village official on village affairs, sometimes for lessons in bookkeeping and the use of the abacus in business, for which one village leader dedicates his time, or for other educational purposes. Once a week they have a social evening with discussion and sometimes folk dances. On nights when no meetings are scheduled, young men gather at someone's house to smoke, drink, or sing together. If enough sake is available, parties can become noisy. Occasionally a fight or quarrel starts later in the evening after everybody has drunk steadily. Such interruptions on quiet evenings are rare and seldom occur more than once or twice a month. Loud singing at midnight or later, a group of gay men knocking on somebody's door, these are the only disturbances an early sleeper may experience if a party is held somewhere.

By 11 o'clock mosquito nets are hung in the rooms and comforters spread on the floor. Except in the house where men gather to drink, quiet descends over the village around that time. Individuals, however, may be seen until long after midnight. Taira goes to sleep late, and although people claim that everyone gets eight hours of sleep, it

can at least check all transients. Another important duty is to prevent the use of explosives by fishermen, a difficult if not impossible assignment, for he must catch the fisherman *flagrante delicto* when he lands with fish killed in this way. There is no indication that villagers assist the policeman in detecting offenders.

Policing the village itself is not a difficult job. The absence of crime and the low incidence of quarrels, disputes, and brawls would seem to make policing unnecessary. Nevertheless, the policeman interferes at times in disputes. He considers it his duty when actual blows are exchanged and somebody is hurt. In such a case he "investigates," takes notes, and makes a report to the police department. During the entire field work, reportable incidents occurred at about the rate of one a month; in the two or three cases where violence occurred, the matter was settled peacefully later, although the policeman kept a record of it. The rare quarrels which do occur are usually the result of drinking or domestic disagreements, generated by financial problems.

The policeman plays the role of judge and jury. In one case a young man hit a woman and was temporarily detained by the policeman until he made apologies to the victim. In disputes over business transactions, the policeman often arbitrates. In a dispute in which a Taira woman was accused of cheating a trader from another village, the policeman heard the case and ordered the Taira woman to make refunds over a period of time. The villagers seem to accept such arbitration. Serious disagreements seem to be unthinkable, and everyone fears public censure and ostracism. Court action is extremely rare and is referred to the provincial courts in the town of Nago.

The policeman is given high status by the villagers and commands respect. He remains, probably by his own choice, a neutral person in village affairs. He attends village functions, where he is given a place among village leaders. Being friendly with many families, he visits and is visited by other men. It was noted that fishermen sometimes send a special catch to the policeman. But since this is a courtesy which is also common among farmers with regard to nonfarming people, such as teachers, one should not think of such actions as bribery. Mothers use the policeman as a threat in disciplining children. "If you do such a bad thing again, I'll take you to the police station." This, however, does not seem to instill any fear of his person, but rather a respect towards the general area in which the policeman lives. Village children play freely with the policeman's children, but his courtyard is entered less frequently by children than that of other villagers.

The head of the General Affairs Department at the township office is charged with supervision of public order. It is not clear how much this is a self-assigned task. During several occasions, when an alarm

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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the wife takes charge of household funds while her husband controls larger spendings.

Many quarrels between couples originate from financial matters. Disagreements happen frequently when a husband returns home intoxicated late at night. His wife may blame him for using money which she has put aside for a special purchase; from this incident the argument turns to family finances in general. As words become more heated, the woman holds her own, telling her husband in no uncertain terms that he is a squanderer. Some husbands settle such an argument by hitting their wives.

Decisions are seldom made by one person in the family. The more important the issue involved, the more people within the family are consulted. A husband and wife may discuss whether to buy or sell a pig and make a joint decision. They also decide mutually on the buying of seed rice and other agricultural matters. Men concern themselves with the building of new structures or the addition to old ones. On the other hand, women make decisions affecting the daily life of children. They determine if a child needs new clothes, if he should be taken to the doctor, or accompany the mother on a shopping trip to the city. Some fathers take an interest in their children's study habits and accomplishments at school, but few are consistent in supervising their children in this respect. Here, too, mothers seem to have a much greater influence. Girls are likely to receive even less attention from their fathers than boys. In cases of decisions that can vitally affect the future of the whole household, members of the husband's and wife's family, if they live in the village, gather to discuss plans.

Although women are less active politically than men, they participate in village meetings as representatives for their families. With the exception of the Women's Association leaders, their participation is more passive than that of the men. But although they seldom speak in public and sit together at the back of the meeting, women nevertheless exert a great deal of influence on community affairs. Their influence is felt even more in meetings of mutual finance associations.

It is unlikely at this point that a woman in the village would run for political office. Several recent developments, however, indicate a steady increase in their political participation. The headman who was elected to office in 1955 is responsible for an innovation which reflects this trend. He selected his clerk by means of a competitive examination which was open to both young men and young women. Two girls who had graduated from high school were among the candidates. They were defeated by a young man to whom the job was given because of

757 [854] [164] [232] [578]

frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.

A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 776 769 775 [764]

As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in general are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who have been neglected or mistreated.

755 756 [787]

In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, somebody may go to consult the *yuta,* a shaman who communicates with the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of ceremonies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases, then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family religion.

[769] [793]

597 755 769 [796]

Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child remains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which honors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the year.

574 for their special skills on the samisen (a three-stringed banjolike in-
533 strument covered with snake hide), open the singing and dancing with
[534] the first, traditional song, *Kagiyadefu*, a solemn and slow piece which
574 is rendered in the forced, nasal voice peculiar to Okinawan song. Im-
535 mediately after this, the tempo changes, the music takes a fast, stirring
beat, and the first dancer, a man, gets up. Dances at social events can
be performed by a single man or a woman, or by several dancers of
either sex, but traditional group dances are done by women only. Taira
people like to dance some of the many Okinawan dances in which a
story, sung by the vocalists, is acted out. For example, a popular dance
deals with a fisherman and his catch. A hat, hastily put on, and a basket
under the arm suggest the role of the dancer, his body and hand move-
ments the actions. No one is much concerned with accurate or highly
artistic rendition of these familiar dances; many performances become
simply improvisations in which one male dancer is joined by other men
or women who, dancing freely, add their own versions to established
movements. There is much applause and laughter from the audience
around the dance floor, which sings and animatedly claps hands in
rhythm to the music. As all, men and older women, imbibe more sake,
they become gayer, and more talents are unleashed. Amusing presenta-
[831] tions of a husband and wife, in which sometimes aggression and sexual
interaction are acted out playfully, are received with great hilarity by
the audience. If such a suggestive performance is given by an old
woman and a young man, it seems to appear even funnier. As they get
tired, dancers leave the floor, making room for others.

[562] Not everybody participates with equal lack of restraint. Younger
[273] women do not drink sake and show much more inhibition; they dance
established versions of Okinawan dances in group performances if
called on, usually before the merrymakers take over. Often a mother,
young child in arm, cannot resist. Passing the infant to a relative or a
girl sitting nearby, she joins other dancers and becomes carried away
by the spirit of the event. On one occasion a young woman, seeing her
aged mother display her talents on the dance floor in comical move-
ments to the delight of everybody, angrily demanded that she come
home right away, only to be rejoined with a taunting remark by the
old lady, who defiantly swallowed some more sake and continued her
entertainment.

527 Not a single event that we attended was marred by any serious un-
273 pleasantness. No guest was ever seen to become sick, although some
men drank themselves into a stupor. Here and there a paper screen may
●578 be broken as a result of a tumbling body, or a hard bang against a
574 thin panel may set the house shaking. But the end of such a feast

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

would be nothing more uproarious than a group of singing celebrants seeking further entertainment from house to house. The occasional quarrels after drinking, which are mentioned elsewhere, seemed much more frequent where only a small group of men indulged after work, especially younger ones. No major holidays ended in dissonance.

The main events for family celebrations are lunar New Year, *seimei*, a period in spring during which descent group ancestors are revered and *Bon*, a commemoration of the dead in the fall. At these times families are reunited with relatives from other villages or the city. These events are observed in the home or in front of the ancestral tombs. During *Bon* young men and women go from house to house, performing traditional dances for this holiday in front of the assembled families.

Celebration of special birthday cycles and agricultural events, such as the day when ditches in the paddies were cleaned in former times, are observed by villagers as a group. An important religious event for the community is Boat Race Day in lunar June. On lunar August 15, the celebration of the full August moon, some villagers present stage performances and dances at a public celebration.

In general, it may be said that families gather as a unit on those days on which ancestors and deceased family members are commemorated. The village jointly celebrates events which are either based on local religion or on agricultural events. The only national holiday which is now in existence was established by the post-war Ryukyuan government. It is observed by school and government offices but not by the people.

Sport events form another category of holidays. The most important one falls in October when both in Japan and all over the Ryukyus athletes compete against each other. Athletic meets take place for several weeks; for the village the biggest event is the competition of all athletes in the township on *undokai* day. Everyone leaves work and takes picnic food to the track at the junior high school where each village competes against the others. This lasts all day.

Wrestling matches are part of entertainment during outdoor celebrations in the early summer. They are mainly an affair for young men. Occasionally an older man who feels strong enough challenges a younger one. The villagers sit around a large circle near the beach, watching the fights while they eat holiday food and drink sake. On Boat Race Day Taira and the neighboring village of Kawata race fishing canoes against each other. Spectators at this event are enthusiastic supporters of their favorites. After the races this holiday ends like any other, in celebrations with dance and drinking.

192 any kind of body dirt or excretion, as mii-kusu, "sleep" in the eyes, haa-
[578] kusu, "stains on the teeth". As in Japanese it is used also in cursing; in
[777] anger an Okinawan may say, "I'll make you eat feces." A similar phrase,
[775] kusu takkwee, "eat feces", is often spoken after someone, especially a baby, sneezes. It is explained that the custom arose when a person once overheard two ghosts plotting to steal a baby's soul (mabui), which may be easily detached by a sneeze; one of the ghosts revealed that if a living person spoke the phrase it would be sufficient to drive him away. The fact that the phrase is used in anger suggests that it is an undesirable one; that it is used in the case of sneezing probably demonstrates the greater fear of ghosts.

831 Sex Practices and attitudes related to marriage have been discussed under that heading in Chapter V. The sex drive seems to be regarded as
864 natural and not sinful. Adults playfully tweak the penises of little boys and may put little children of both sexes to sleep by prolonged patting of the buttocks. They do not tell their children about the nature of sex and expect them not to know, yet the children hear much thinly-disguised discussion of sexual relationships and, sleeping with their parents as they do, may be vaguely aware of their parents' relations. Parents expect their children to learn of sex "naturally" as they grow older. As Maloney reports[1],
[839] there is little masturbation among small children, but two of Pitts' informants reported that adolescent boys sometimes hold masturbation contests to see who can ejaculate the fastest. This practice is said to stop with the beginning of heterosexual activity.

836 Formerly adolescents, except for girls of the gentry class, seem
883 to have had some sexual freedom. The practice of meeting in the fields at
178 night for parties, moo-ashibii, often led to sexual relations. According to informants in one community syphilis was brought in late in the last century through moo-ashibii with the youths of a neighboring village. Pre-marital sexual relations are probably frequent today, though the conditions under which young people meet are changing.

837 Married women are expected to have relations with only their hus-
548 bands, but married men are, in theory, limited only by their finances. There exists in the larger towns a relatively large class of women called juri, who function as both entertainers and prostitutes. (There is no distinction, like the Japanese distinction between 'geisha' and 'jorō'.) The
[178] jurinuyaa, "juri houses", were formerly centers of social life for the men of the city. The present 'ryōtei' have much the same function. A group of men may spend an evening there eating and drinking and being entertained by dancing and singing. If one chooses to remain and "buy a woman" his wife's only objection to it can be that it costs more money.

838 Homosexuality is evidently rare, but not unknown. A Naha woman reported that a Japanese who lived in a room next to hers was in the habit of luring young boys into his room with good food and then seducing them, sometimes to their physical discomfort. She said that some of the neighbors

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 392.